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U. S. War dept.

25th Congress, 2d Session. [Doc. No. 276.] Ho. of Reps.

WESTERN FRONTIER.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE

Subject of the protection of the Western Frontier, presented to the House of Representatives by Mr. Harrison, of Missouri.

FEBRUARY 14, 1838.

Referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

January 8, 1838.

SIR: At the request of the honorable A. G. Harrison, of the House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit the accompanying papers, for the consideration of the Committee on Military Affairs, which have reference to the subject of the defence of the western frontier, reported upon by me a few days since, in answer to a resolution of the House of Representatives.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

J. R. POINSETT.

Hon. JAMES J. MCKAY,
Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs,
House of Representatives.

FULTON, MISSOURI, *June* 3, 1837.

SIR: The great number of Indians, native and emigrant, on the frontier of Missouri, Arkansas, &c., has for a long time engaged our serious attention, and filled our minds with painful solicitude for the future and permanent safety of those most exposed to their incursions. It is the paramount duty of all Governments to afford to its citizens not only that protection which is fully adequate to secure them from danger, but such, also, as is sufficient to allay every apprehension of it. We do not believe that our Government has extended either to our exposed frontier. When we think of their immense number, which, it is officially said, will amount to 253,000, when all shall have been removed, and look upon our vast extent of frontier, we affirm it unhesitatingly as our de-

Thomas Allen, print.

liberate opinion, that the troops stationed upon it for its protection are altogether inadequate for such a purpose. With these opinions, being in part the representatives of a portion of those exposed to the dangers we have alluded to, we should be faithless to our trust, wanting in every impulse of patriotism and humanity, if we did not use the very utmost of our exertions, in every practicable manner whatever, to accomplish objects of such vital importance. It is these considerations that have impelled us to trouble you with this communication. We desire your views of the protection that is necessary, and respectfully request that you will give them to us at length. No man, we are well satisfied, is better qualified to give a correct opinion on this subject than yourself. Your long acquaintance with the character of the Indians of the West; their cunning, their boldness, their treachery; your intimate knowledge, from personal experience, of their mode of warfare, and your late position as the commander of the first regiment of dragoons, connected with the additional circumstances of your being stationed on the frontier, and, whilst in that quarter, of having penetrated and scoured much the greater portion of the country lying between it and the Rocky Mountains, have afforded you opportunities enjoyed by no other person in the country for forming correct opinions on the subject. You cannot but perceive, should the information we receive justify it, that it is our intention to make an effort at the next session of Congress to have that protection extended to us which will not only make us secure, but will also quiet every feeling of solicitude in relation to it.

We are the more anxious to get your views on the subject, and the views also of other gentlemen whose situation and experience have enabled them to form just and correct opinions as to the amount of force that is necessary, because, in the discussions which we have heard on the floor of Congress upon this subject, opinions have been advanced very wide from those we entertain ourselves, directly impeaching the existence of any necessity for further protection, without which, we firmly believe, our frontier citizens are doomed to be, at some future day, the helpless victims of savage ferocity. On such occasions, too, we have heard the all-sufficient argument of economy used, as if that should be esteemed true economy, where the great probability is that the timely expenditure of a few thousand dollars will prevent the future necessity of appropriating millions; but it is such economy, we very much fear, as will eventually end in opening the sluices of blood, and marking the fair fields of our people with the blackness of death and desolation. Such are the views and feelings with which we are impressed; and, being such, we are irresistibly impelled to do all in our power to avert such an impending calamity. We therefore again renew the request that you will furnish us with your views on the subject in as full a manner as your time and convenience will admit of.

With assurances of the highest regard, we are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. F. LINN,
A. G. HARRISON.

Col. HENRY DODGE,
Governor of Wisconsin Territory.

[Doc. No. 276.]

St. Louis, *August* 14, 1837.

Sir: We have taken the liberty of addressing you, for the purpose of acquiring such information as you may be able to give relative to the force that is necessary for the complete protection of our frontier. You know that this frontier is very extensive, and we think not sufficiently protected. To prevent ruinous border wars, and to ensure peace and safety to our fellow-citizens living in that quarter, is the great object we have in view. We hope, by the information we are endeavoring to collect on the subject, to satisfy the General Government that the protection which is indispensably necessary to the peace of the frontier is but begun. We have been induced to address you, from your thorough knowledge of the condition of the frontier, and the Indian and his character. We should be happy, therefore, to be favored with your views on this subject at length.

We have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. F. LINN,
A. G. HARRISON.

Gen. Henry Atkinson.

Camp Sabine, Louisiana,
August 28, 1837.

My dear friend: When we last met in St. Louis I promised to write to you, and should have done so sooner but for the army life, that of being moved about so much. I have been moved from Jefferson barracks to Natchitoches, in this State, from thence to Fort Jesup, from Fort Jesup to this place, and from this place back to Jesup, and from thence to the Caddo Indians, and from thence to New Orleans, and from thence back to this place, where we have remained until this time, but how much longer I am unable to say. I should as lief be here as in any other place in this country; but I would rather be in Missouri than any other State in the Union that I have been in, not excepting old Virginia, the place of my birth. I like the people better; the climate is better; in fact, everything is better, in my opinion; at least, they appear more congenial to my feelings. This country appears easier to get a living in than any other that I have ever been in, and the people are less inclined to work than any other set I have met with. We have been here nearly two years, and for what purpose I am unable to say, for there has been no invasion, or threatened invasion, that I know of. There are no Indians nearer than eighty or one hundred miles of us, and we are fifty or sixty miles from those large planters who have so large a number of negroes that it would require a garrison near to prevent their negroes from rising. So you will see that we are too far from the former to protect the frontier inhabitants, as also to protect the master from the violence of his slaves, if they see cause to be discontented. We have temporary quarters built at this place, which is about two miles and a half from the river Sabine, on a straight line, and about four by the road.

It is my opinion that we could be of more use to the service if we were on the frontier of Missouri or Arkansas. There we should be a check on

the Indians; for if we do not establish a line of posts around that frontier soon, the enormous body of Indians which the Government are sending amongst you will become dissatisfied, and will rise and use you up before we can help you. You know it is the nature of an Indian to take all advantages; and when he thinks that you are not watching him, that is the time that he will make his spring. Hence, the sooner it is done the less it will cost the Government, and the less blood will be spilt. But if you build those posts, you will have to increase the army in order to garrison them. There should be at least fifteen thousand men on a peace establishment in the army of the United States. My plan would be to have eight regiments of infantry, four of artillery, two of dragoons, and one of riflemen, each regiment to be one thousand strong; and to have the different staff corps to be increased, so as to be adequate to all the services required of them, without taking officers from the line for staff purposes. What I mean by staff corps is, the engineers, topographical engineers, and ordnance corps. The details for those duties are so great at this time that we have not got officers sufficient to do company duty; and at one time this summer the sixth regiment had but ten officers with it for duty; out of thirty-three belonging to it, there was not at that time one captain with his company in the whole regiment, and that in the field. I knew a time it would have been considered disgraceful to be absent from your regiment or company, when they were in the field. But times have changed; for now some of them bother the lives out of some of the members of Congress to get them a furlough, or to get them on some other duty, and at the time, perhaps, their companies are in front of an enemy. The War Department should put a stop to it, or else it will ruin the army. There are a great number of officers on Indian duty, which, I think, should be done by citizens; for if it is necessary to have a captain, a first and a second lieutenant, to a company, is it not equally necessary that they should be with it? I think so. Then, why not employ citizens; for it would be better for the army, better for the citizens, and better for the service in general. To return to the increase of the army; it is my opinion that a rifle regiment should be added to the peace establishment; as two wars have shown us that riflemen are the most efficient troops that ever were employed in our country. Where can you find troops more efficient than Morgan's riflemen of the Revolution, or Forsyth's riflemen of the last war with Great Britain? However, I contend that they are the most useful in our country. Artillery for a siege; infantry for an open country, where they can meet column to column; dragoons for scouring parties, provided they have a rallying point near at hand; but riflemen for the woods or broken ground, with which you know our country abounds at every point where fighting must be expected. The musket and cartridge-box are too clumsy to run through the woods with. I served in Forsyth's riflemen during the whole of the late war, up to the reduction of the army in 1821, and have been in the infantry since, and have had a good opportunity of judging of these two arms of the service, and am decidedly of opinion that the rifle is the best one the service can have.

If, sir, this meets your approbation I hope you will consider me a candidate for the riflemen, and give me your assistance to obtain it; or, if the army is increased, I also wish your influence for promotion. I have

served my country honestly and faithfully for near twenty-five years, and have commanded detachments, companies, battalions, regiments, and brigades, and have been on some important expeditions, and have had the good fortune to have the approbation of my commanding officer and the Government. I have written to Governor Miller and to Colonel R. M. Johnson, Vice President of the United States, on the subject of brevet rank. At the close of the last war, Mr. Dallas, then Secretary at War, promised me the brevet rank of major; but, unfortunately, he died, or I am convinced I should have received it. I made repeated applications after the war for leave to visit Washington, but without effect until the fall of 1820, which was the first opportunity I had of laying my claims before the President and Secretary at War, which I did, but was told I was too late by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Calhoun; but they both, if I understood them, agreed that my claims were just. Again, in 1826, I had my claims before Mr. Adams and Mr. Barbour, and had no better success. I claimed brevets for the following actions: The battle of La Cole's mill; General Wilkinson told me, for my gallant conduct, that he would remember me. In the summer of 1814, on the day the gallant Forsyth fell, I, with fifteen riflemen, led the enemy's force, of about seven or eight hundred strong, into an ambuscade, in such a manner that, if Forsyth had obeyed his orders, not a man of them would have escaped to have told the story; for which General T. A. Smith sent for me, and offered me brevet rank, which I declined. A few weeks after I dispersed a party of the enemy of more than my number, killed their advanced guard, and wounded and took prisoner their chief, an Indian chief by the name of Malaun. He was a celebrated chief; and to show you how much the British thought of him, they asked his body of General Smith, and had it buried in splendid style; for this General Smith sent for me again, and offered me brevet rank again; which I again declined. Well, sir, for the battle of Plattsburg I respectfully refer you to Major General Macomb, and also to a letter of his that is on file at the War Department at Washington; it was written to me, and placed on file by me in 1826. For these few battles I was promised the brevet rank. Since then, in 1823, at the battle of the Arickarees, General Leavenworth recommended me to be breveted to a major. (See his report, on file at the War Department.) Again, on the Sante Fe road, 3d August, 1829, when I defeated eight hundred Indians with one hundred and fifty, and killed and wounded forty of them; and again defeated them on the 10th November. Sir, if I had received brevets for all these actions only, I should have been a colonel by brevet, September 11, 1834. And now, sir, all I ask is, to be breveted for war services, to take effect at either of the dates—September 11, 1814, August 3, 1829; to be lieutenant colonel by brevet. I had a talk with General Jackson in 1831; and, if I understood him, he would have sent my name to the Senate if they would have passed the list for brevets which he had furnished them; before he told me he would not send my name to them until they had passed what he had sent them; but if they would pass them, he would send mine. If you will be so good as to see Governor Miller, he is a strong friend of mine, and can tell you more than anybody else on the subject. I am more anxious at this time than I was heretofore; for I wish my son, when he grows up, to see and hear that his father has served his country honestly and faithfully, by gal-

lantry. My services are well known; but I wish my name to be on the records of my country for gallant services; and if you will be so kind as to use your influence with those other gentlemen, you will lay me under everlasting obligations to you; and my son, as he grows up, and can appreciate your services to his father, shall be taught to mention your name with gratitude, and to consider you one of his best friends. I am convinced that I am asking a great deal; but I know your kindness, and that you will do anything that is in your power for a soldier; if Mrs. Linn is with you, be so good as to make my kindest regards to her.

If, sir, you should want any information as it respects this country, you must let me know; I should be pleased to hear from you during the session, and after, as often as you feel at leisure to do so; I should like to know what is going on. On the 4th of March last, about twelve o'clock, we gave Matty and old Tecumseh twenty-six roarers. Whether you succeed for me or not, you will have my eternal gratitude.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your obedient servant,

B. RILEY,
Major U. S. Army.

Hon. Lewis F. Linn,
Senator of the United States.

St. Louis, *August* 14, 1837.

Sir: The exposed situation of a frontier of at least a thousand miles in extent has attracted our serious attention to the dangers which constantly threaten our border citizens, from the proximity of the Indians, and the facility with which they can strike any moment they please.

We are desirous of collecting, from such sources as can throw light upon the subject, all the information that may lead to a full and complete knowledge of its exposed condition, for the purpose of inducing the General Government to give it that protection which may be absolutely necessary to its safety. Your long services in the army, which, to a great extent, have been connected with Indians and Indian affairs, your acquaintance with their manners and habits, and your knowledge of their character, must be of a description calculated to give correct information upon a subject which has been greatly embarrassed, for the want of a proper understanding of it. We would, therefore, very respectfully request the favor of you to give us your views of the force that you think is actually necessary for the complete protection of the frontier, accompanied with such remarks relative to a cordon of posts, their distance from each other, &c., &c., as you may think necessary.

With sentiments of regard, we are, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. F. LINN,
A. G. HARRISON.

Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines.

HEADQUARTERS, WESTERN DIVISION,

St. Louis, August 14, 1837.

GENTLEMEN: I take much pleasure in complying with the request contained in your letter of this date, convinced as I am that your views of the *letter* and *spirit* of the constitution and laws of the United States, regarding the *protection of the frontier*, are in accordance with those by which I have been governed; that you are in favor of a system of protection, the work of which should commence before the work of *destruction* is finished or in progress, and the exterior line of frontier inhabitants cut off, as it was in East Florida during the winter of 1835 and '36.

To obviate a similar catastrophe upon the western frontier, bordered as it is with savages, for the most part deeply wounded, and to some extent exasperated at what they deem to be our hostility and injustice, in urging them to abandon the lands of their ancestors; savages who have profited, as every portion of the human family have profited, by the lessons they have taken from us in the school of adversity, and thus prepared for a spirited attack upon the frontier; savages sufficiently numerous, when combined, to lay waste hundreds of miles of our frontier settlements in a shorter time than the news of their hostility could possibly reach the seat of the Federal Government, and even before the State Governments of the West could possibly provide the means of defence. I am decidedly of the opinion, that in addition to the posts and garrisons already placed upon the frontier between the mouth of the Sabine and the Missouri rivers, inclusively, there should be held ready for action a disposable force of six thousand men; of which one regiment of dragoons and one of infantry should be stationed at Fort Leavenworth; an equal force at some healthy point to be selected on Grand river, near the southwest angle of the State of Missouri; an equal force on the northwestern waters of Red river, near the mouth of the False Washita; and the residue on the waters of the Sabine.

The points to be selected for the location of all military posts, and more especially for the proposed *disposable force*, should be guarded by law from the ruinous attacks of whiskey-traders, by placing under the entire control of the commanding officers a township of public land, of which the post should be on the centre section. If it is true that nine-tenths of the crimes committed in the army, during the last thirty-seven years, have been occasioned either directly or indirectly by the improper use of spirituous liquors, (and I am convinced of the truth of this opinion,) then what other argument is necessary to show the expediency of affording the commandants of posts the means of cutting off all intercourse between the traders and soldiers? And why should the proposed reservation of a township of public land, for each frontier post, be objected to? The land would receive no injury. On the contrary, it would be greatly benefited, inasmuch as it would, with some little attention, become more and more valuable every year, by the planting and growth on the prairie of black locust and black walnut for building ships and steamboats, and by other improvements, among which I may mention corn, pasture, and meadow lands, from which our dragoons may be supplied with forage; to which I may also add orchards and gardens, which will contribute greatly to the health and comfort of the troops.

The proposed frontier posts might be converted into military schools, for the instruction of many of the aspiring youths of the neighboring States, unable to obtain admission into the Military Academy at West Point.

Let good barracks be constructed, and place at each post the requisite professors, as at West Point, to be selected from among the graduates of that institution, and then receive from each regiment of militia of the neighboring counties a few cadets for four years; they would often be usefully employed in doing garrison duty, as a part of their instruction, particularly during a state of war, when the troops are called off upon active service. Graduates from such schools of the West would prove to be in no wise inferior to the graduates from West Point.

Promising myself the pleasure of addressing you again upon the subject of your interesting communication, (being now much occupied with other duties,)

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, your most obedient servant,

EDMUND P. GAINES.

The Hon. L. F. Linn, and
The Hon. A. G. Harrison,
St. Louis, Missouri.

Fulton, *June* 3, 1837.

Sir: The object of this communication is to solicit from you such information, in relation to the military force necessary for the complete protection of the frontier of Missouri, Arkansas, &c., as you may have it in your power to give us. We are flattered, from your location on the frontier, the length of time you have been on one post or the other of it, from your knowledge of the number of Indians on our borders, of their character for the faithless observance of their promises and treaties, and of the present and past meager military force upon our frontier, that you can give us much information that will be useful and interesting. It is our opinion that the military force usually stationed on the western and southwestern frontier is very far from being sufficient. Your opportunities have been of the most ample kind for observations on this head, and will doubtless accompany such conclusions as you have come to with great weight and influence. In the important trust which, in part, has been placed in our hands, we feel that there is no duty of a higher and more sacred character than that of trying every means, and using every exertion which our situation can possibly put within our reach, to have extended to our exposed and neglected frontier the protection which shall place its security, for the future, beyond the possibility of doubt or solicitude. Such as we have, has been sparingly given; such as we want, will be withheld, we fear, without proof as clear as positive demonstration. Millions have been expended for the protection of commerce; our navy has been increased avowedly for this purpose. This is right. We have ourselves lent a feeble assistance to this great object. It is but the fulfilling of one of the great purposes of Government. But when protection is sought for by the people of the West, those whose boldness and daring, whose toils

and sufferings, whose labor and improvements, have opened the forests and made valuable the lands of the Government, those, in truth, who have been invited to our utmost western limits by the Government itself, in offering its lands for sale there, how cold and indifferent the conduct of the Government! How reluctant to move upon the subject! Can it be possible that such circumstances are not sufficient to entitle any civilized people on earth to the protection of their Government? And if *such* be sufficient to attract the favorable notice of the Government, how much more are they entitled to the fullest protection, whose misfortune it is to have settled where it is the policy of the Government to place thousands of the most restless and implacable enemies the white man ever had? Such, exactly, is the condition of the settler upon the western frontier. He is innocent of the causes that have led to this necessity. If there are grounds for it, the Government itself is guilty. Such are our views. To impress them favorably upon those who have the power to give us the necessary aid, is the object of the information we seek. We hope, therefore, that you will do us the favor to give us at length the opinions which you have, as to the force that is necessary to ensure complete protection to the western frontier.

We have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. F. LINN,
A. G. HARRISON.

Col. Stephen W. Kearney.

Fort Leavenworth, *June* 20, 1837.

Gentlemen: Your communication of the 6th instant, asking my opinion of "the military force necessary for the complete protection of the frontier of Missouri, Arkansas," &c., has been received; and, forming as you do a part of the representation in Congress of the State and people of Missouri, (so deeply interested in the subject,) I feel bound to give you my views, to be used as you may deem proper or expedient.

The preliminary measures to protecting the frontier are to have the limits of the frontier definitely settled. This is not the case with the country between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; and I think that, as early as possible, the northern boundary of the State of Missouri should be marked out, and that the commissioners for laying out the "military road," as directed by an act of Congress of the 2d July last, should be informed if the Territory of Wisconsin, (west of the Mississippi,) subject to be settled by the whites, is to continue as its present boundary; or, if to be extended by further purchase of land from the Indians, where the permanent boundary will probably be. The above boundaries being determined upon and finally fixed, (the remainder of the frontier, viz: that between the Missouri and Red rivers, is already so,) the "military road," as above alluded to, should be laid out in the Indian country, along, and within a short distance of, the line separating it from the Territory of Wisconsin and the States of Missouri and Arkansas. Upon this road should be erected strong and permanent military works, garrisoned by infantry or artillery, and should be such as at a glance would convince the Indians of the folly of attacking them, and of the danger they would

incur by passing to the rear of them. Besides the stores necessary for their own garrisons, those works should hold in depot rations and forage for the dragoons and their horses, when visited by them on their march along this road. These I would station on the flanks and in the centre; and, when the season permitted, a portion of them should be constantly moving on the road.

The strength of the force necessary to be stationed at the "works," as above recommended, though a matter of great importance and consideration, it is obvious that even military men may differ about. I would therefore suggest that there should be one regiment of infantry or artillery, and one of dragoons, to garrison the works and guard the frontier between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; one regiment of infantry or artillery, and one of dragoons, between the Missouri and Osage; and two regiments of infantry or artillery, and one of dragoons, between the Osage and Red rivers; thus giving, for a frontier of about one thousand miles, four regiments of infantry or artillery, and three of dragoons. As the military road is, by law, to stop at Red river, and, as I suppose, you do not ask my opinion of the country south of it, I shall say nothing about it.

I am aware that the above estimate of force to guard the frontier will to some persons appear too large, and to others too small; but when we reflect that the question is not what force has hitherto been stationed along the frontier, but what force is necessary there; not how much longer will the mercy of the Indians permit our weak garrisons to continue to exist near them, but how strong should they be to command the respect and have a control upon the actions of the Indians; when we take into consideration the distance of about one thousand miles, contiguous to which the policy of the Government has settled a very large and restless body of Indians, their well-known treacherous and unfriendly feelings for the white men, it will be conceded, as I think, by most persons, upon reflection, that the foregoing estimate is at least within the necessary bounds.

It is well known that the cause of most of the difficulties we have had with the Indians may be traced to the lawless acts of some white men amongst them; and that, in consequence of the distance to the civil courts, and the impossibility of getting witnesses before them, such acts very often go unpunished, and therefore stimulate others to the commission of new ones. I am therefore most decidedly of the opinion, that if Congress would by law authorize that offences against the act of June 30, 1834, entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontier," may be tried by military courts, should the offender be apprehended in the Indian country, such authority would do more to preserve peace on the frontier than many additional regiments.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. W. KEARNEY,

Colonel 1st regiment dragoons.

To the Hon. L. F. Linn, and
A. G. Harrison,
Fulton, Missouri.

FULTON, *June* 3, 1837.

GENTLEMEN: We have taken the liberty of addressing you, for the purpose of getting such information as you may be able to give, in relation to the military force that is necessary for the protection of our western and southwestern frontier. The long residence of some of you among the Indians, and the knowledge which you all, as Indian agents, doubtless possess of their numbers, their character, and habits, have enabled you to form conclusions on this subject, which but very few have had the opportunity of doing. Besides, you are well acquainted with the extent of our frontier, and its defenceless condition. As we are collecting information on this subject, with the view of a future operation in Congress, we respectfully request a communication from each of you, giving your views as to the military force that is necessary for the permanent peace and security of the whole ilne of our frontier.

Should there be other Indian agents living within reach of you, whose names we have not here included, you will please forward them a copy of this, for their reply.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

L. F. LINN,
A. G. HARRISON.

Messrs. A. S. HUGHES,
JNO. F. DOUGHERTY,
JOSHUA PILCHER,
M. CUMMINS,
W. N. FULKERSON.

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI,
November 25, 1837.

DEAR SIR: I have just returned from a fifteen days' campaign, which was for the purpose of removing a considerable number of Osage Indians without the limits of the State. A number of the citizens on our southern frontier, say in the neighborhood of Old Harmony Mission, petitioned the Governor of our State for relief. The Governor cited them to the major general, Samuel D. Lucas, of this place, and, at the same time, instructed the general to hold a certain amount of his command in readiness at the call of said citizens; which call was made on the major general, who ordered into service two brigades, one of which I had the honor to command. The major general, S. D. Lucas, for the purpose of having good order and subordination, as well as to try to remove said Indians without bloodshed, took the command in person, and, with a great deal of caution, has at the present effected the object aforesaid; though, without some immediate and prompt measures, our whole Western Missouri will be overwhelmed in a general war with the different tribes of Indians. The Osage Indians have been for some time committing outrage after outrage on the stock of our frontier citizens, which, I discovered whilst out there, caused a fixed determination in our citizens to stand it no longer; and, of course, war must ensue. I consider one great evil exists out there: there are many Indians, French, &c., living near the line, who are in the habit of keeping spirituous liquors. A great portion of

them have full-blooded Osage Indian squaws, as pretended wives. A Mr. Jarreu, a trader for the American Fur Company, who lives some fifteen or twenty miles from the line, has an Osage squaw for a wife, though not married to her, and lives sixty or seventy miles from any place of civil or military law. He has divers French around him, who sell liquor to the Indians; they come in and remain six or eight days; then they are starved almost to death, and, of course, must fall on the first cow or hog they may meet with; and while out there General Lucas ordered said squaws to be put without the limits of the State, as other Osage Indians, though Captain Mitchell, while on his way with them to camp, fell in with a command of dragoons, under the command of Captain Sumner, who, with force of arms, took said squaws and ordered them back to Mr. Jarreu's. The next day, after General Lucas, with his command, had put over the line some three hundred Indians, and on the march back met with Captain Sumner and his command, who informed General Lucas he would use his endeavors to keep said Indians without the State; also informed General Lucas he had left a guard at Mr. Jarreu's, with said squaws, &c.; that said guard and prisoners were subject to his order. General Lucas proceeded on to the Harmony mission-house, near said Jarreu's, and despatched Colonel Thomas Pitcher, with a small command, to receive said prisoners; but when arriving there, it seemed Captain Sumner, though a dragoon officer of the United States, had given the guard particular instruction not to let General Lucas nor any other persons have said prisoners; which was directly in contradiction to what he had told the general. He, the said general, being on his march for home, and this same twenty-five or thirty from Captain Sumner, and wishing to put the Government to as little expense as possible, concluded to disband his troops, and leave the matter for the Government and Captain Sumner to arrange. I am authorized, from good authority, to say to you that Captain Sumner yet has a guard to keep any person from driving said squaws without the limits of the State. Such conduct as this, you are well apprized, the citizens of Missouri will not suffer. It seems as though it has been the policy of the Government to place on our immediate frontier almost all the different tribes of Indians. Be it so. No objection; but we claim from that Government that protection which the laws of our land guaranty to us, free and independent citizens. The commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth was informed, by one of the commissioners of Indian affairs, that difficulty was likely to arrive, and requested to send an officer to see General Lucas, or at least to inquire what was likely to be the result. He sent down Lieutenant Chilton, who got all the information which General Lucas had in his possession, which was a petition from the citizens of Bates county, praying for relief, as well as an order from the commander-in-chief to hold his command in readiness. Why did not the commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth immediately despatch a portion of his command, and have the matter adjusted, instead of having the militia dragged from their homes, to relieve the property of their fellow-citizens from the tomahawk of the savage Osages, who are threatening the lives of the citizens of Bates county, if they molested them when they came in to kill their stock? And I have no doubt but, if General Lucas had went out with a few men, he would have had them fellows to have flogged

severely before they would have surrendered; as I discovered at all times, when coming across a party of them, they evinced considerable hostility. Some of them even went so far as to cock their guns, for war. The citizens of Bates county complain, and say the dragoon officers do not care anything about their interests, merely march out for fine show, and to cut some fine military swells, and return, and leave them and the Indians to fight it out.

I am bound to think, without some immediate remedy, our country will be mulct in a general war with the Indians on our West, as you well know when one Indian begins all are on a move. And it seems to me it would be a very wrong time to have to spend several millions of dollars at this critical moment of money matters, when it could otherwise be done.

I have the honor to be yours, &c.

M. G. WILSON.

A. G. HARRISON, Esq.

FORT COFFEE, WEST OF ARKANSAS,
September 10, 1837.

SIR: As I have been for a number of years travelling along the whole extent of our frontier, and have visited most of the different tribes of Indians, from our settlement as far west as the Rocky Mountains, I have been requested, by a number of individuals, to give my views in regard to the protection of the frontier, and the policy which should govern our relations with the various Indian tribes upon our border. And as there is no person who has taken a greater interest in frontier matters than yourself, I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you. If it contains any suggestions that may be of service, it will be a source of great gratification to me that I have afforded some information upon a subject of such great importance to the western people. The plan of opening a military road along the whole extent of the frontier, and establishing a cordon of posts, which was introduced into the Senate by yourself, is an excellent one, and meets with the approbation of the frontier people generally; not much, however, has yet been done towards carrying it into effect. The dragoons should be constantly kept patrolling along this road, to enforce the non-intercourse law, and prevent the introduction of spirituous liquors into the Indian country. There is but little doubt that most of our Indian wars have been occasioned by outlawed white people, who have fled to the frontiers, located themselves among the Indians, and married Indian wives. They introduce whiskey into the Indian country, and sell it to the Indians at an enormous price. The Indians get drunk, commence quarrelling, and, in this state of excitement, commit acts of depredation, which, in many cases, lead to war.

In addition to the present force, I think there should be a regiment of riflemen raised, to be mounted in case of an Indian war. They should be armed with good rifles. This has been proved to be the most effectual weapon against Indians. The officers of the regiment should be hardy and enterprising men, possessing a knowledge of the frontier country, and acquainted with Indian character. Officers of infantry,

who have been stationed a long time on the frontier, should have the senior appointments. The whole of these troops should be placed under the command of a general of experience, who should have his headquarters on the military road, as nearly central as possible. Detachments of troops should be sent out into the Indian country every summer. In this way the officers would acquire a knowledge of the topography of the country, and become acquainted with Indian character, both of which would be essentially requisite to combat them successfully. A few presents should be taken along, to conciliate the wild Indians, and to let them know that we are friendly disposed towards them. These detachments should have directions to arrest all persons in the Indian country trading without a license, and all those who abuse their licenses by cheating and abusing the Indians; much disturbance would, by this means, be prevented. With regard to the government of the Indians, I think there should be either a governor and secretary, or a general superintendent, of all the Indians on the frontier west of the military road. He should be located on this road, as nearly central as possible, so that he could communicate in a short time, by means of expresses on the road, with every portion of the frontier. The superintendencies and acting superintendencies now established in that portion of the country should be abolished, and all our frontier relations intrusted to this general superintendent or governor, who should make an annual report of the condition of the Indians in his superintendency. This method would ensure a uniformity of action and views with regard to our Indian relations, which cannot be obtained so long as there are so many little acting superintendencies, the appointments to which are filled with men of such various and conflicting views. This governor, having the general superintendence of all Indian matters on the frontier, would be able to settle the little jarring interests of the different tribes, and reconcile their animosities, and thus prevent much bloodshed among them. This cannot be done by a commissioner so remote as Washington, who cannot be supposed to possess much knowledge of Indian character, or the various causes of these difficulties. Having one common governor, to whom to refer all their difficulties, and who would establish the same rules and regulations over all, it would tend to produce a unformity of views, and they would be induced to co-operate in measures to their mutual advantage, and which would tend to a gradual amelioration of their condition. Every two years there should be a general council or congress, to consist of a delegation of all the different tribes of Indians, to assemble at some central point in the Indian country; they could then and there communicate their various wants to the Government, through the superintendent or governor; while he, at that time, could communicate the views of the Government with regard to them. The wild Indian of the North and extreme West could here meet his more civilized brethren of the South, and, seeing the beneficent effects of civilization in the improved condition of these Indians, he might be induced to follow their example, and cultivate the arts of civilization himself. They could here hold their feasts and dances together, settle their little animosities with each other, and part with mutual good will. The Indians, like all other people, are fond of excitement; they have ambitious men among them, who are desirous of distinction; and as they have but little opportunity to shine as

statesmen and orators, their ambition leads them to excel in warlike exploits, which, no doubt, is the cause of many of the wars among themselves and with the whites. This grand council will be considered a great event in the lives of the Indians, and their principal warriors will be very desirous of being sent as delegates to it, which will lead their minds from warlike exploits, and direct their ambition to other roads of distinction. When this is acquired, one great step is taken towards their advancement in civilization, and the amelioration of their condition. In short time, if such should be the policy of the Government, they might, at this general council, elect delegates to Congress, which would open a new field of ambition for them. Many other advantages will arise from this plan, which will at once occur to you; and I will not, therefore, trouble you with an enumeration of them. The establishment of schools among the Indians is a subject of great importance in effecting their civilization, and it has been too much neglected. There ought to be good schools, and a large number of them, established among all the different Indian tribes. The only way of working a permanent and practical civilization among them is to educate them when young. The good effect of schools has been experienced with the Cherokees and Choctaws, among whom there are many intelligent men.

I have not entered much into the detail of this plan, and it may require changes and alterations; such as it is, however, and with the faint hope of being of some service to the public, I have submitted it to your perusal.

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. P. KINGSBURY.

Hon. Lewis F. Linn,
Washington.

Fort Leavenworth,

June 27, 1837.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, dated Fulton, 3d June, 1837, addressed to General A. S. Hughes and myself.

You wish to know my opinion as to the military force necessary for the protection of our western and southwestern frontier. This is a subject in which I feel interested, and have for several years back; and I am rejoiced to see that you, gentlemen, are about to lay your strong congressional hands, without gloves, on this all-important matter. I will therefore proceed, without delay, to give you some of my views relating to it.

I am of the opinion that six thousand troops are necessary to give the protection you allude to. The State of Missouri is, as you well know, one of the frontier States; two sides of it are unprotected, except by a small force at Fort Leavenworth. The Government are still sending out tribes of red-skins, and locating them on her frontier border; this is well enough, provided the Government will give the necessary protection. The tribes who emigrate to this country do so contrary to their own free will, and are, at heart, the bitter enemies of the white man.

It is the intention of the Government to make and keep peace between the tribes and these wild original inhabitants of the country; this is correct, also; indeed, humanity demands it, because they would, if permitted to carry on war among themselves, not only cut to pieces and destroy each other, but the property of our own citizens would be endangered likewise. It should be well remembered, however, by the great and wise men of our nation, that so soon as peace and good will is established between what I call the tame and the wild Indians, they will form combinations together, and fall on our helpless frontier people, knife and tomahawk in hand; and, when once the fray commences, there is no knowing when or where it may end.

On the north of our State, and between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, we have 5,000 or 6,000 Sacs and Foxes, about 20,000 Sioux, and some 1,400 or 1,500 Ioways, and it is strongly spoken of that we are to have some 6,000 or 7,000 Pottawatamies and Winnebagoes located along the same line; then, on the west, we have near 3,000 tame Kickapoos, Delawares, Shawnees, and other small bands; and we have about 1,500 Kanzas, 1,600 or 2,000 Otoes, 2,000 Omahas, 500 Piankeshaws, 2,000 Shawnees, 2,000 Sioux, 11,000 or 12,000 Pawnees of the Platte, 1,800 Kiawas, 3,000 Arrapahoes, 5,000 Osages, and then some 10,000 Pawnees, Picks, and Camanches, who roam from west of Missouri to south of Arkansas; and, besides all these tribes, we have on the Missouri river and back, running along the Rocky Mountains, some 15,000 Blackfeet, 3,000 Crows, and about 2,500 Mandans and Gros Ventres, (or Minatories,) 2,500 Arrickaraws, and 10,000 Snakes of the Rocky Mountains. Then, further south, along the State of Arkansas, we have Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Seminoles, &c., by the thousand; I am unable to say how many; we will suppose 20,000. Remember that all these tribes inhabit the country between the west side of the Mississippi and Red river; they are bounded on the west by the Rocky mountains, and on the east by the States of Missouri and Arkansas. The Missouri river runs through this tract of country, dividing it into two nearly equal parts, from east to west, and four-fifths of all the Indians above enumerated reside on the Missouri and its waters. The only military force, from the mouth to the head of this mighty river, swarming on both sides by thousands, yes, tens of thousands, of blood-thirsty savages, has, for the last four years, not exceeded four companies! Yes, 200 men to protect a line of frontier people, extended from Prairie du Chien to Fort Gibson, a distance of about 700 miles, against all these blood-thirsty red-skins; and they, too, goaded on one side by our whiskey-merchants and fur-traders, and on the other by our trappers in the mountains. Can any man, who has been a witness to the mischief done by old Black Hawk, and 4 or 500 of his followers, in the course of one season, surrounded as he was, too, on all sides, by whites and unfriendly Sioux, doubt, for a moment, that our extensive and unprotected western frontier is in imminent danger, daily and hourly, of being attacked by some or all of these wild, revengeful, active, and daring bloodhounds?

We ought to have four companies of infantry and two of dragoons stationed at Prairie du Chien or St. Peter's; the same number on the Des Moines river, above the Missouri State line; an equal number on the Missouri river, near the mouth of Big Platte; the same at Fort Leaven-

worth, and on the waters of the Osage, somewhere above Harmony Mission; also, on the Neosho, above the State line, in the Osage country; and a like number at Forts Gibson, Smith, Jesup, and Towson. These troops, strung along in this way, would give perfect security to the frontier, from the lakes in the North to Red river in the South. At each of the locations mentioned, it would require a well-made, compact garrison, to be held by the infantry, while the dragoons should be kept constantly travelling from post to post, on a good road made for the purpose, with the necessary ferries and bridges. There should be a regular mail running on this road, going and coming from post to post, bringing news from the Spanish dominions in the South, and from the British in the North. The dragoons travelling on this road every day, with strict orders to prevent all whiskey-smugglers from going into the Indian country, and all Indians from coming into the white settlements, would have the effect of putting a stop to a traffic which is the origin of all evil and difficulty between the white and red men.

There should be one superintendent of Indian affairs located on this road, at some central point; there should be one Indian agent stationed within a few miles of each of these military posts. The superintendent and agents should have the sole control of the Indians; and, in order to prevent the demoralizing effect that military garrisons generally have on Indians, they should not be allowed to hold any intercourse whatever with the troops, except, when it becomes necessary for the troops to chastise them. The moment you permit soldiers and Indians to mingle together, that moment the latter lose all fear and respect for the former. Indians should never be permitted to enter a military station, except the chiefs, and then only when business of importance required it. The United States troops should be held up before the Indian tribes, by the Government, as the rod of correction; the Indians should be made to understand that agents are sent among them to advise them, and make the views of the Government known to them, and to offer peace and protection on certain conditions; and that, when those conditions are wilfully violated on their part, the troops will be let loose upon them.

Give superintendents and agents good salaries, repose confidence in them, clothe them with considerable discretionary powers, and then you will find men of honor and capacity seeking these offices; and when you are disappointed in your man, appoint another in his stead, and so on until you have all good ones. One agent in the vicinity of each frontier military post would be sufficient to transact all our affairs with the Indians. All offences or violations of law, of whatever kind, committed in the Indian country, should be tried by a military court, and promptly punished.

The expediency of organizing an Indian Territory at this time, with a view to bring the wild Indians under legal restrictions, is, in my opinion, very doubtful; before this can be done, they must be taught to work, read, and write, and be weaned from the chase. To effect this great change, you must locate among them a number of good, honest, and industrious teachers, farmers, and mechanics, all of good moral character, and placed under the exclusive direction of the agent, so long as he conducts the affairs of his agency properly. At the same time this is going on, the Government should hold out inducements calculated to urge

the Indians on to labor; there should be a store or stock of the best kind of Indian goods kept at each agency, to be given out, at cost and carriage, to the Indians, individually, or to heads of families, in payment of annuities due them from the United States. They should be made to understand that they would find sale for every bushel of corn, pound of beef or pork, they might have to sell to the Government for supplying the troops at these several military posts. Before the Government can exercise the necessary control over Indian tribes, some plan must be adopted calculated to lessen the powerful influence that large trading companies have over the Indians. These large trading companies break down all opposition in trade, get whatever price they may choose to impose upon their goods, and, of course, oppose any measure of the Government relating to Indians, because every step taken to settle the Indians down, and civilize them, is in direct opposition to the interest of the trader; therefore, I say something must be done to weaken the control the traders have over the minds of the ignorant Indians, before anything can be done towards bettering their condition. You ask, what ought to be done to effect this great object? I will tell you. Let the General Government take these ignorant savages into its own hands, and furnish them with every article of trade, at cost and charges; this, of course, would drive the traders from among the Indians in a short time, and leave the Government alone to control them as so many children. Thus, with a line of forts, garrisoned by infantry, along the frontier settlements, from North to South, with two companies of dragoons at each, with their horses in good order, ready to pursue and chastise, or bring to justice, all violators of law, be they white, red, or black, with a good road, and a mail running from post to post, bringing all Indian news from the North and South to the superintendent, and to the military officer placed in command of the whole line of posts, the frontier would be rendered secure. Both superintendent and commanding officer should be located at or near Fort Leavenworth. The Indians supplied with teachers, farmers, and mechanics, of every necessary kind, and furnished with all kinds of necessary articles of merchandise, at cost and carriage, the influence of the fur-traders done away with, and ardent spirits kept away, I have no hesitation in believing that everything would glide along smoothly and peaceably between us and the red-skins; and that, in a few years, many of the Indian tribes would become sufficiently civilized to make a beginning at self-government, under some simple code of laws, and in course of time become capable of furnishing a representative in the United States councils; but, until something of this kind is done, I venture to predict that all the money, time, and labor, which the Government may bestow on these miserable tribes, for the next fifty years to come, will prove unavailing.

The Government has gone on and crowded these tribes upon our borders, without consulting us; therefore, we are entitled to protection. We should be enabled to lie down at night in our humble huts, on the most extreme frontier, with our wives and white-headed children, in perfect security.

You have now, gentlemen, the views of one who has been on the frontier for the last twenty-nine years, acting in various capacities among

many different tribes of Indians. Should you deem the rough suggestions here thrown out of any consequence, I shall be much gratified, and give you the liberty to use them as to you may seem best.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JNO. DOUGHERTY,
Indian Agent.

To the Hon. L. F. Linn,
A. G. Harrison.

Headquarters 1st Department,

Western Division of the Army, Jefferson Barracks, Aug. 22, 1837.

Gentlemen: I have had the honor of receiving your joint letter of the 14th instant, asking my opinion of the force necessary for the complete protection of our northern and southwestern frontier. Being long familiar with the extent of our frontier and the number and character of the border Indians, I can feel no hesitation in answering your inquiries, with a strong confidence in my judgment on the subject. In speaking of the northwestern and southern frontier, I embrace a line from the upper lakes to the Mississippi, including Green Bay, Forts Winnebago, Crawford, and Snelling, at the Falls of St. Anthony, and from the latter post, southwest, to a point on the Missouri river, where the State line will intersect it; thence down on the southwest side of the river, to Fort Leavenworth; thence south to Fort Gibson on the Arkansas river, Fort Towson on Red river, and on the same line to Sabine river, and down that stream to its mouth. Upon this line, northeast of the Mississippi, reside the Menomonies, Winnebagoes, Chippewas, and some small tribes from the State of New York. The Menomonies number about four hundred warriors, the Winnebagoes six hundred, and Chippewas two thousand; all restless and warlike tribes, and generally well armed with the rifle and northwest smooth-bored gun. The part of the Sioux on our border reside on the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers, and in the plains bordering our northwestern line. They may be estimated at seven hundred to eight hundred warriors, broken into many small bands; they are warlike, and armed generally with guns. The Sacs and Foxes reside on the Iowa and Des Moines rivers, midway between the Mississippi and Missouri; they number one thousand two hundred warriors, well armed with rifles, mostly; they are proud, imperious, and brave. The Pottawatamies of Chicago reside now on the Missouri river, 30 or 40 miles above the State line; they have fifteen hundred warriors; they are warlike, and are armed with guns. The Omahas reside some fifty miles from Council Bluff, on the northwest side of the Missouri river; they have five hundred warriors, armed partly with guns and partly with bows and arrows; they were once brave and warlike, but are supposed to have lost some of their high character in deeds of arms. The Pawnees of the Platte reside on that river, some seventy miles above its mouth; they are accounted two thousand warriors, armed with guns and bows and arrows, and are brave and warlike. The Otoes and Missourias, now one band, reside on the Platte, four miles from its mouth; they are generally well armed with guns, and are very brave

and warlike; they are estimated at two hundred warriors. The Sacs and Iowas of the Missouri reside at the mouth of Wolf river, on the southwestern bank of Missouri river, and seventy miles above Fort Leavenworth; they number three hundred warriors, well armed; next below are the Kickapoos, five miles above Fort Leavenworth, who have two hundred warriors. The Shawnees and Delawares reside on the Kanzas river, near its mouth; they number six hundred brave warriors, well armed. The Kanzas Indians reside some seventy miles up the Kanzas river; they have four hundred warriors, armed partly with guns and partly with bows and arrows. On the Osage and Neosho rivers are the Pottawatamies of Indiana, Senecas, Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, and Kaskaskias and Ottawas, estimated in the whole to have three hundred warriors. The Osages on the Neosho and Verdigris rivers have eleven hundred warriors, armed with guns and bows and arrows. The Cherokees who have emigrated, and reside below Fort Gibson, are estimated at fifteen hundred warriors. The Creeks who have emigrated, and reside on the Verdigris and on the Canadian fork of Arkansas, may be estimated at eight thousand warriors. The Choctaws on the Canadian fork and on Red river have three thousand five hundred warriors. The Quapaws have one hundred and fifty warriors; they reside on the Neosho. The Caddoes reside upon the Texas frontier, below Fort Towson, and are numbered at three hundred warriors.

Remote from our border are the Sioux of the Upper Missouri, estimated variously at from four thousand to six thousand warriors. The Rickarees have joined the Mandans and Gros Ventres at their villages; the whole number not more than eight hundred warriors. The Chyans, on Chyan river, have 600 warriors. The Crows, on the Big Horn of the Yellowstone, count eight hundred warriors. The Assinaboines are estimated at three thousand five hundred warriors, residing north of the Missouri river, towards Hudson's bay. The Arrapohoes reside on the head-waters of the Arkansas river. The Camanches roam from the Rocky Mountains down upon Red river; they are a numerous and warlike tribe. The Pawnee Picks reside among the mountains up Red river. All these tribes live too remote to come down upon our border settlements. I have not spoken of the Blackfeet and other mountain tribes; being little known, and too distant to excite any apprehension.

I should estimate the Indians on our border, who are situated to depredate upon and annoy our frontier inhabitants, along the northwestern line, from the Kanzas river to the lakes, at ten thousand seven hundred warriors, and south of the Kanzas to the Sabine river, at fourteen thousand six hundred and fifty warriors, besides the Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Creeks, who have not yet emigrated from Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama.

For the protection of the lake country, including Green Bay and Fort Winnebago, I should assign one infantry regiment of one thousand men. One regiment of infantry of one thousand men, and two troops of dragoons, for the posts on the Upper Mississippi, and one regiment of infantry of one thousand men, and eight troops of dragoons, for the posts on the Missouri river, and an intermediate post on the Osage or Neosho river.

For the protection of the Arkansas and Red river frontier, I would assign one infantry regiment of one thousand men, and six troops of dra-

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goons for the posts on the Arkansas river; one infantry regiment of one thousand men, and four troops of dragoons, for the posts on Red river; and one regiment of infantry of one thousand men for the posts on Sabine river, from Gaines's ferry to its mouth.

The estimate for the posts on the Arkansas river is rather small, considering the vast accumulation of Indians in that quarter. The whole estimate for the posts, from the lakes to the mouth of Sabine river, may, however, be considered large; but it should be remembered that the regiments of infantry will hardly ever be kept up to eight hundred men, from the circumstance of discharges, desertion, &c.

Things, since the removal of the Pottawatamies to their own lands, appear tranquil on the frontier. There is, however, a war wampum afloat among the border tribes, and in its circulation since last fall has grown to an enormous size. I speak from undoubted information; but whether the combination is for operations against the whites, or the Sioux, is not ascertained; some friendly chiefs have communicated a belief that it is against the whites. Under all circumstances, too much attention cannot be paid to the defence of the frontier.

With very great respect, gentlemen, I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

H. ATKINSON,
Brigadier General U. S. Army.

To the Hon. L. F. Linn,
United States Senate, and
The Hon. A. G. Harrison,
Member of the House of Representatives,
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